Perspectives Of The European Revolution

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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Socialist Workers Party Launches Fund Campaign

Sets Goal of $15,000 to Be Raised by Feb. 15 to Expand Party Publications Program and Carry Forward the Organization Work

By Rose Karsner

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, at its November Plenum, decided to launch a 15th Anniversary, $15,000 Fund. The campaign for this fund is to terminate Feb. 15 and is not to interfere in any way with the regular Monthly Sustaining Fund pledges. The money received through this special effort is to be used for the expansion of the Party press, the publication program and to help weather the stormy days ahead.

Although the campaign is only two weeks old, we can already report a total income of more than $2,400. This prompt and selfless response to the Supreme Court's arbitrary action in refusing to hear the appeal of the convictions in the Minneapolis trial speaks volumes for the quality of the Party membership, and assures us that we will "Go Forward" in spite of repressions.

FROM THE BRANCHES

"Enclosed find $437 as a starter on the Anniversary Fund" writes organizer J. Bowers of Los Angeles, and she continues, "we now intend to campaign for speed in getting our quota fulfilled. We also decided to step up our recruiting along with the Drive." Comrade M. of the same branch says: "Ideas on how to raise the money are buzzing around. Some of the enthusiastic comrades proposed that we raise our quota, but the 'conservatives' would rather stick to the $2,000 and go over the top. The consensus of opinion is that we can carry this drive through **without disrupting our routine financial structure in any way.**"

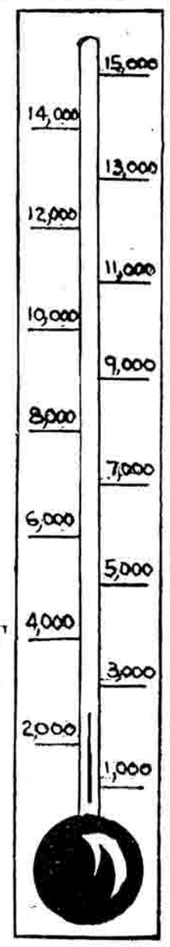
San Francisco: **"Enclosed find our second payment towards the Anniversary Fund. We hope to send the balance in weekly instalments until our quota is fulfilled."**

From Comrade Ken of Chicago: "The branch accepted its quota. We have a special committee in charge which came in with proposals for socials and other activities. Everyone is confident that we will go over the top by Feb. 15. Enclosed find check for our regular Monthly Sustaining Fund pledge."

Dorothy Lee of St. Paul sent in $150 and writes: **"We are trying to get in as much money as we can in the early part of the drive because we realize that considerable funds will be needed in the immediate period."**

TO OUR SYMPATHIZERS

We feel confident that our friends and sympathizers will rally to our support. If you wish to show your solidarity with us, send in your contribution, or make a pledge.



SCOREBOARD

	$15 000 Quotas	Paid	Percent
Akron	$ 200.00		0
Allentown	25.00		0
Bayonne	300.00	$11.00	4
Boston	300.00	25.00	8
Buffalo	300.00		0
Chicago	2000.00		0
Cleveland	200.00		0
Detroit	2000.00	545.00	27
East Chicago	100.00		0
Flint	100.00		0
Los Angeles	2000.00	437.16	21
Milwaukee	25.00		0
Newark	300.00	75.00	25
New Haven	50.00		0
New York	2500.00	789.50	32
Philadelphia	150.00		0
Quakertown	25.00		0
Reading	100.00		0
Rochester	50.00		0
San Diego	100.00		0
San Francisco	1000.00	400.00	40
Seattle	1000.00		0
St. Louis	100.00		0
Texas	25.00		0
Toledo	100.00		0
Twin Cities	1000.00	150.00	15
Youngstown	200.00		0
Members-at-Large	800.00	15.00	2
Total Paid	2447.66		16%

Millions Of Indians Starving Under British Wartime Rule

By Miriam Carter

Shocking reports have come in recent months from India of millions suffering death from sheer starvation. In the streets of Calcutta, in the industrial province of Bengal, lie hundreds of thousands of homeless men, women, and children, bodies weakened and shrunken by starvation, grovelling in the gutter for bits of garbage, waiting for death to overtake them.

The estimated death toll in the single province of Bengal, where the suffering has been most acute, is 2000 a week, according to the official British government figures. But the estimate of Indians travelling in the country, eye-witnesses to the ravages of the worst famine in 70 years, is — 50,000 deaths weekly.

EPIDEMICS ADD TO TOLL

Death stalks the land, taking its toll not only among those who fall from starvation. Hundreds of thousands are struck down by epidemics. Bodies weakened by hunger are easy prey for the hosts of disease germs, now ravaging the Indian people — cholera, typhus, dysentery, tuberculosis, etc. Hospitals have long been overcrowded. Special "Corpse Disposal Squads" have been organized to pick up from the streets every morning, the bodies of those who died during the night.

The responsibility for the terrible plight of this vast mass of Indian people rests with British imperialism. For 150 years the British rulers have been siphoning off the profits from the natural resources and labor of India. Their unquenchable thirst for greater and greater wealth is one of the direct causes of the Indian famine.

Winston Churchill, the outspoken, ruthless guardian of British imperialist interests, voiced the attitude of the British ruling class toward India in a speech delivered Dec. 12, 1930:

"We have no intention of casting away that most truly bright and precious jewel in the crown of the King, which more than all our other Dominions and Dependencies constitutes the glory and strength of the British Empire."

BRITAIN'S "JEWEL"

To the British capitalists India is indeed "a bright and precious jewel." "Today India provides a field for investment for a quarter of British overseas capital holding, and sends to Britain roughly 150 million pounds [$600,000,000] annually as tribute in various forms," declares the program of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, Fourth International.

While the British Raj grows fat, the Indian people must live in squalor, poverty and disease. The normal death rate in India is "25 per 1000, one of the highest in the civilized world and more than double that prevailing in Europe. . . About one out of every five children dies before it is a year old. Heavy mortality continues from infancy through childhood, early adolescence and even during adult life. . . A new-born child in India. . . may look forward to an average of only 26.6 years; in the Western world the average length of life is just over 60 years." (Foreign Policy Pamphlets, "The Population Problem and World Depression," by Louis I. Dublin, Ph. D.).

THEY WINE AND DINE

These sufferings of the Indian people mean nothing to the ruthless, profit-hungry British imperialists and their lackeys. William Fisher in *Life* magazine of Nov. 22, 1943, describes the tragic plight of the starving in Calcutta, and adds: **"Grotesquely, the backdrop for this epic pathos is a city functioning as usual; Firpo's Restaurant, hotels, fashionable clubs and other places where Europeans and rich Indians gather are serving their usual 5-course meals. Side-walk death watches are maintained in front of one hotel in which three orchestras play. . ."**

The British, in attempting to bypass this crisis, place the blame for the famine on the "bungling" of the Indian provincial assem-

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Labor Defense Bodies Lash Decision Of Supreme Court

Most Militant Demonstration Since 1926

As Tories and Laborites clashed in bitter debate, a huge crowd of British war workers demonstrated outside Parliament in London against the release from jail of Sir Oswald Mosley, British Fascist No. 1.

Minneapolis Convictions Are First Under Smith 'Gag' Act

James T. Farrell, Noted Author, Calls for Action Against the Attack on Free Speech

The leading labor defense and civil liberties organizations all joined in issuing statements protesting the unheard-of action of the United States Supreme Court in brazenly refusing to consider the appeal of the defendants in the Minneapolis case.

The eighteen defendants, officials of the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO, were all convicted under the infamous Smith "Gag" Law which has been denounced by numerous labor unions, liberals, jurists, etc., as in clear violation of the Bill of Rights. This was the first case to come before the Supreme Court involving the constitutionality of the Smith "Gag" Law.

The American Civil Liberties Union, in deploring the Supreme Court's denial of the defendants' appeal, stressed the fact that "the Court's refusal further delays testing the Smith Peacetime Sedition Act."

"This is the first time" according to the ACLU, "that the Supreme Court has declined to review a test case under a statute involving important issues of freedom of speech and press."

DANGEROUS PRECEDENT

Morris Milgram, secretary of the Workers Defense League, warned that the Supreme Court's action constituted a "dangerous precedent against labor and minorities. . . America should bow its head in shame that this gagging of free speech should occur while our boys fight overseas ostensibly for democracy, without the high court having even considered the vital question of the constitutionality of the Smith 'gag' Act."

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, which is the authorized spokesman for the 18 defendants, stepped to the forefront in order to rouse and mobilize labor and liberal ranks against the gravest blow yet struck by the Roosevelt

(Continued on page 2)

MESSAGE FROM SWP MEMBERS IN BOSTON

There was an extremely brief item in the Boston papers about the Supreme Court decision against the 18 Socialist Workers Party and 544-CIO members. Some such decision was expected, but came, nevertheless, like a blow to the comrades here. The comrades are carrying on and have great admiration for the manner in which the leadership has prepared for such a contingency.

Roosevelt Backs Subsidies In Order To Save Wage-Freezing

By S. Marcy

American workers, hard hit by the mounting cost of living, must have experienced a sense of revulsion on reading in the newspapers on Nov. 27, that the House of Representatives, by a vote of 278 to 117, had prohibited the use of government funds for food subsidies.

Instinctively, they must have been drawn to the side which championed the use of the subsidies as a measure to keep down the cost of living. This is particularly true in the case of active trade unionists in the CIO as well as the AFL, who have suddenly been subjected to a barrage of urgent appeals from the top union leaders to defeat the anti-subsidy moves in Congress, and thereby keep down living costs.

Political activity on the part of the workers, is certainly to be welcomed. To encourage the workers, however, to support the subsidy program proposed by Roosevelt, and adopted by the trade union bureaucracy, the Stalinists, and the liberals who adhere to Roosevelt, means only to confuse them, disorient them, and divert them from real independent political activity. This becomes clear if we carefully examine the present legislative struggle which centers around the Congressional anti-subsidy moves.

THE CCC

The issues of subsidies arises now because on Dec. 31, the law which created the Commodity Credit Corp. (CCC) will expire. Neither Roosevelt nor his opponents in Congress want it to expire because the CCC is a large lending agency with two and a half billion dollars at its disposal. Its primary function is to perform for agriculture what the Reconstruction Finance Corp. (RFC) has performed for industry. **In other words, it has been used to support agricultural prices at "parity" and to safeguard the swollen profits of the huge agricultural interests, and occasionally has thrown a crumb to the smaller farmers.**

When Roosevelt ordered the OPA to roll back the price of butter five cents a pound, he ordered the administrator of the CCC to pay the manufacturers of butter the equivalent amount to compensate them for the rollback. Funds from the CCC has also been used to subsidize the prices of meat, cheese, and other items.

Now the notorious Congressional farm bloc, with the aid of Wall Street, and a host of so-called farm organizations as its front, has obtained a big majority in the House of Representatives and has banned the further use of any Federal funds for the purpose of subsidizing food items. It has done this by employing the stratagem of attaching the subsidy ban in the form of an amendment to the CCC Bill, which as stated above, expires on Dec. 31, and must be renewed. The amendment is known as Section 3, and it is worthwhile to note the substance of its content:

"No funds appropriated to. . . any governmental agency shall be. . . used or made available to the Commodity Credit Corporation. . . to make any subsidy. . . for any agricultural commodity. . . [processed or manufactured] either to reduce or maintain maximum prices established on such commodities. . ."

FALSE HUE AND CRY

In short, this amendment prohibits the use of Federal funds to subsidize certain food items. Although we are the last to cultivate any illusions with respect to the rising cost of all food products, we must, nevertheless, point out that the last minute hue and cry — raised by the Roosevelt supporters and the top labor bureaucrats to the effect that the anti-subsidy provision automatically would lift the maximum ceiling prices on food products — is false. It is false because none of the food prices can be hiked **without the aid of Roosevelt and his OPA.**

The anti-subsidy amendment does not lift either the retail or wholesale ceiling price on food items. It merely removes a subsidy for this ceiling. The legal ceiling prices heretofore in ex-

(Continued on page 2)

TROTSKYISTS IN NAPLES

The Trotskyists are again mentioned in connection with the Italian events. In describing the current political situation in Naples, Homer Bigart, New York Herald-Tribune correspondent reports the existence of "Neapolitan Trotskyites. . . who want a Communist state disassociated from Moscow."

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

According to postal regulations, your address is not complete unless it shows the postal zone number. For example: The Militant's zone number is New York 3, N. Y. The postal authorities are now insisting that this regulation be carried out in the mailing of The Militant.

Check the wrapper in which The Militant is mailed to you and if the zone number is not included, be sure to send it to us at once so that we can correct your mailing address and thus assure the delivery of your paper.

Send the zone number to:

Business Manager
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Wall Street Bourbons

An Editorial

By this time, it is common knowledge that American Big Business is raking in profits by the truck load. They are making more money than they did in 1929 or in any previous period of American history. They don't even have to take the "risks"; the U. S. Treasury takes all the "risks."

Still there is no satisfying them. These fat, cost-plus hogs are now kicking up a row for still more. Their representatives are pressing Congress to wipe off the books the re-negotiations law, by means of which the government recovers millions of dollars, when profits become too exorbitant even according to the ultra-generous standards of the Army and Navy Brass Hats.

The latest performer of Big Business to shed crocodile tears at the sad plight of the millionaires and demand an end to the renegotiations law is Edward G. Budd, President of the million dollar Budd Wheel and Budd Mfg. Corporation. As a climax to the long battle he has waged, Budd circulated a printed appeal among the entire membership of Congress, citing the experience of his own companies, as a typical example of the sad state of affairs on millionaire row.

The picture is truly heart-rending: Total net sales of the Budd Manufacturing Co. for 1942 were $115,000,000. The government "grabbed up" through renegotiation, $9,000,000, leaving for profits the measly sum of only $1,300,000, or about 1.2% profit on sales.

Is it any wonder that Wall Street is up in arms? Is it any wonder that they denounce Roosevelt as "a traitor to his class?" Budd, his voice choked with emotion declares: "It is plain injustice. Furthermore, by reason of the methods employed to enforce compliance, it is no less than confiscation. That is the thing we are fighting against in Europe."

We leave aside the minor inaccuracies of Budd's statement: the fact that neither he nor the Congressmen are doing any fighting, except possibly fighting the labor movement. We will not even spend much time on the *obvious fraud* about the 1.2% profit. Profits, as every schoolboy knows, are figured on investment, on capitalization, not on sales. We turn to a brief survey of the history of the company of this "public benefactor." What do we find? The Budd Manufacturing Co. lost $300,000 in 1926-29. In 1930-34, it lost another $4,800,000. In 1934, the company was on the verge of bankruptcy. The company then rallied to the point of making an average profit of $450,000 in 1935-36. Its average profit was $236,000 in 1936-39. In 1942, lo and behold, the Budd Company showed a profit of $5,222,000, not the $1,300,000 that Budd announced to Congress; an increase over 1936-39 of 2,113%. Yet this scoundrel has the nerve to tell Congress that the company's "net return. . . was far less than the normal profits of a peacetime year." Budd was right in one thing, however. His "experiences" are "typical" of all other big war contractors.

One marvels at the audacity and gall of the American business man. Historians used to think the Bourbon Kings were pretty reactionary and arrogant. That is only because these historians never met the profit-hungry vultures of Wall Street. The Bourbons were pikers compared with our steel barons, our auto princes, our industrial and banking tycoons. Even the tory *Financial News* of London, reading over the program of the American Bankers Association writes: "One is inclined to rub one's eyes to make sure one is not dreaming," and calls the bankers' program "the Bourbon Plan, on the evidence it offers of the inability of its authors to learn anything or forget anything."

The The Bourbon Kings are the people who, for years, robbed, exploited and enslaved the peoples of Europe. But eventually, the peoples of Europe rose up and drove the Bourbons off the thrones. The American people will deal in a similar fashion with our native bourbons. These, however, will not be chased off their thrones but their money bags.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Marvel Scholl

After the miners succeeded in breaking the Little Steel formula, the CIO leaders decided that they could no longer sabotage the fight for higher wages. The Philadelphia convention of the CIO passed a resolution condemning the Little Steel formula and called upon its component unions to open the fight for wage increases.

In a resolution made public on Nov. 15, the Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL, demanded that the Little Steel formula be scrapped. **"The only real effect of the Little Steel formula to date has been the practical freezing of wages," the resolution declared. "Stabilization of living costs, as every consumer knows, is largely wishful thinking, while the true inflationary forces, the industrial combines, which control living necessities, are having a field day."**

* * *

On Nov. 17, the National Executive Council of the Textile Workers Union, CIO, announced that their union was demanding an increase of at least 10 cents an hour for all textile workers. "Contracts affecting 450,000 textile workers are now open or about to be opened," Emil Rieve, President of the Textile union announced. "Our demands will be made immediately upon these employers. In the opinion of the Textile Workers Union, the Little Steel formula is dead." Rieve **went on to explain that the "Present wage policies of the government are freezing in poverty the textile workers, who historically have been the most depressed group of workers in the United States."**

* * *

On Nov. 19, the Aluminum Workers of America, CIO, announced that it is demanding a straight increase of 15 cents an hour at all plants of Mellon's Aluminum Company of America. This represents approximately a 19% increase over the present basic pay rate which was arbitrarily frozen at 78 cents an hour by the War Labor Board.

The action of the Aluminum union has a further significance. The basic hourly wage rate in the aluminum plants is the same as that of the steel industry. The leadership of the Aluminum union is traditionally very close to Phillip Murray and has, in the past, acted under his direct guidance.

The United Steel Workers are scheduled to hold a special meeting of their International Executive Board on Nov. 30 for the purpose of giving final approval of their wage proposals to the steel corporations.

* * *

The United Automobile Workers have likewise sprung into action. The Ford local, the largest local in the American trade union movement, presented demands for wage increases in a letter to Harry Bennett, Ford personnel director, and asked that negotiations start on Dec. 1. The Ford local demanded, in addition to wage increases, the establishment of a post-war security fund for the workers, increased vacation bonuses and payment of workers insurance premiums.

The UAW has previously made similar demands upon General Motors, Chrysler and many of the other large automobile manufacturers.

What do all of these demands add up to? Do they represent a new, powerful drive on the part of the unions to break Roosevelt's wage freeze policy? The sincerity of the Murrays and Thomases may well be questioned in this drive, when we consider their continued policies of whitewashing Roosevelt, their continued crusade on behalf of the no-strike pledge, their violent denunciations of the miners strikes. The Murrays and Thomases finally acted because they felt they had to make some gestures of fighting for the workers demands, else the avalanche of rank and file pressure, when it started, would be that much more uncontrollable and that much more hostile to them.

The action of the CIO leaders, however, coming on the heels of the miners victory, has started a trend in the labor movement, that cannot easily be sidetracked by any union bureaucrat or easily squelched by any government official. **When the rank and file of the auto, steel and the other mass production unions really get into action to back up the new wage demands, labor's new push for wage increases will be on in deadly earnest.**

* * *

When the forces of reaction want something done they never rest until it is accomplished. **A clause, slipped into the new tax bill just passed by the House, provides that "all previously exempt organizations, except religious, educational or charitable shall file annual income reports with the Collector of Internal Revenue."**

The AFL legal department discovered the joker and William Green protested in a letter to House Majority leader MacCormack that "unless some ulterior motive lies behind the wording of the bill, then I cannot understand why labor organizations were not also exempt."

This legal shell game of slipping disputed legislation into unrelated bills in the form of riders or "joker" clauses is not new. **The Bill of Rights, particularly the right of freedom of speech, was abrogated by just such a rider to the Alien Registration Act in 1940. This rider is the Smith "Omnibus Gag" Act, and it is under this act that 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO are being railroaded to jail.**

* * *

The OPA has handed the coal operators their demanded price increase. The new price schedule raises the price of bituminus coal 17 cents per ton and anthracite coal from 35 to 70 cents per ton. The greedy operators, whose profits already have increased 300% over pre-war levels, are not satisfied with the OPA increase, but they have graciously consented to release thousands of tons of coal mined under the old wage levels—at the new price.

Meanwhile half of the bituminus operators have agreed to sign a contract with the UMW embodying the $1.50 wage increase—provided the increase is called overtime for increased production and not portal-to-portal pay.

The remainder of the bituminus operators are still sabotaging the negotiations, as are most of the captive mine owners. Thus far, they have ignored Ickes plea to their "patriotism."

Two excellent distributions at Negro mass meetings have been reported during the week and we believe both reports will be of interest to our readers. The first report is from Boston:

"Last Sunday, Nov. 21, A. Clayton Powell spoke in Boston at a community church meeting. He drew a tremendous crowd, mostly colored but with a few white people present. At the conclusion of the meeting, two of the Boston comrades sold literature to the crowd.

"One of the comrades who was selling has been in the movement for a good many years and has done a large amount of Jimmy Higgins work. He described the reaction of the crowd to our literature: 'When the people left the meeting, it seemed like they were looking for something. They heard us hawking the literature and saw The Militant and two pamphlets we had, "The Struggle for Negro Equality" and "Negroes in the Post-War World." The SPers were yelling too, but little attention was paid to them. The colored people seemed to remember us and our slogans, because for years we have been doing work among them. **They came to us and bought the papers and pamphlets as fast as we could hand them out. Our entire supply was gone before half of the people had left the meeting. If we had taken five times as many pamphlets and papers, we could have sold them easily'."**

The other report is from our New York agent:

"The NAACP held a mass meeting a few weeks ago to protest the continued segregation of Negroes in the armed forces.

"We had a fine distribution of The Militant and sold 46 pamphlets — 'The Struggle for Negro Equality' and 'Negroes in the Post-War World.'

"In addition to the literature distributed and sold, a good contact was gained for the party and we also received an invitation to speak at a Negro organization."

* * *

The National Citizen's Committee for Winfred Lynn, a subcommittee set up by the March-On-Washington Movement to help this militant Negro in his fight against Jim Crow in the army, sent us the following request:

"We would like very much to receive **The Militant** regularly. I hope that you can put us on your complimentary list. . ."

* * *

A subscriber writes that his "Militants have been arriving anywhere from a week to a week and a half after they left the press," and he is "wondering if they are being held up in the mail or if they are posted late." **We want to again remind our subscribers that The Militant is withheld from dispatch by the New York post office until Washington sends a release notice. Each issue is thus delayed from three to ten days.**

Defense Bodies Lash High Court

(Continued from page 1)

administration against civil liberties and democratic rights.

James T. Farrell, noted novelist and Chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, lashed the Supreme Court's action in a statement, a partial text of which follows:

"We do not judge men merely by their avowals of faith and good-will. Neither do we judge institutions by the descriptions of their authority and functions contained in written constitution. We judge men by their actions.

BLOW TO FREE SPEECH

"The Supreme Court of the U. S. has given us the material whereby we can test it. When it refused to hear the appeal of 18 defendants in the Minneapolis case, it administered a blow to the cause of free speech; it showed itself more than inattentive to the provisions of the very Constitution which it has sworn to uphold.

"It is the opinion of serious persons in the labor and liberal movement that the Smith "Gag" Act is in flagrant violation of the Bill of Rights. This case is the most important one which comes under the provisions of that act. The Supreme Court has even refused to hear an appeal which will test the constitutionality of that law. . .

"This is Thanksgiving Week. In the motion pictures and newspapers and on the radio, we are being told over and over again that we should be thankful for being free. **But there is less freedom in this country today than there was last week or in Thanksgiving 1942. We know that this week the Supreme Court of the U. S. is less of a guarantee of our liberties than many people have believed it to be. . .**

CHALLENGE TO EVERYONE

"One of the simplest lessons in history is that no Government and no Court can, in the long run, stop people from thinking. This action of our highest court will not do that which cannot be done; it will only encourage all who want to be free to defend their freedom.

"Liberal and Labor opinion should now mobilize to prove that it is 100% more attentive to freedom than is the Supreme Court. We must continue to defend the 18 victims in this case. We must press our attack against the Smith "Gag" Act.

"One of the first free-speech cases in history was that of Socrates. When he was on trial for his life, he told his judges that 'the unexamined life is not worth living.' Let us now reaffirm that noble statement."

The case of the 18 Minneapolis militants is a challenge to everyone who still retains the slightest regard for democratic rights and civil liberties.

It has been an age-long practice of despots to answer proponents of progressive and liberating ideas with physical blows and ruthless repressions. They can answer in no other way.

RAILROADED FOR IDEAS

The 18 Minneapolis defendants are being railroaded to jail because they are courageous, unswerving fighters for socialist ideas and ideals—the most powerful, the most progressive, the noblest in the history of mankind. Capitalist rulers fear these ideas, the only ones that hold out hope for the war-tortured millions in the world today. That is why the cannibals of capitalism, seeking to preserve their corrupt and decayed system, will stop at no bestiality in the attempt to destroy, the bearers of these socialist ideas, the Trotskyists.

Roosevelt-Biddle and the FBI-Gestapo are not the first to persecute the Trotskyists. Our co-thinkers have been hounded by every government on this earth. Stalin and the GPU head the long list of persecutors, jailors and executioners of Trotskyists—a list which includes: Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Petain-Lavai, Vargas, Batista, Chiang Kai-shek, Churchill, the British colonial administration, etc. etc.

Roosevelt's prosecutions and persecutions will not destroy our movement. They will only open the eyes of hundreds of others to the true nature of capitalist "democracy." For every one that is jailed scores of others will spring up to join our ranks. The imprisonment of 18 of our leaders will not dampen or halt our struggle for the socialist future of mankind.

MANDATE NOT ISSUED

The defense attorneys have informed us that while the mandate has not yet been issued by the Minnesota District Court, the defendants have not much more than a month before they are incarcerated in the federal penitentiary.

The eighteen working class fighters who must go to jail are:

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party; Albert Goldman, Attorney for the SWP and **The Militant**; Vincent R. Dunne, National Labor Secretary of the SWP; Felix Morrow, Editor of the **Fourth International**; Farrell Dobbs, Editor of **The Militant**; Grace Carlson, New York SWP Organizer; Oscar Coover, Minneapolis SWP Organizer.

Harry DeBoer, Local 544-CIO Organizer; Max Geldman, Recording Secretary, Local 544 Federal Workers Section; Carlos Hudson, Editor of **The Industrial Organizer**, Local 544 weekly paper; Clarence Hamel, Local 544-CIO Organizer; Carl Skoglund, Local 544-CIO Organizer; Oscar Schoenfeld, former Organizer Local 544 Federal Workers Section, Youth Division.

Emil Hansen, Local 544-CIO Organizer; Jake Cooper, Minneapolis truck driver; Edward Palmquist, Local 544-CIO Organizer; Karl Kuehn, Local 544-CIO Federal Workers Section Organizer; Alfred Russell, former Officer Omaha Teamsters Local 554.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, the authorized representative of the 18 prisoners, announces that it is launching a national campaign to bring to the attention of the American people the vital issues involved in this case, and to raise funds for the relief of the prisoners and their families.

Message from Flint Members of Socialist Workers Party

Informed today of the Supreme Court's decision in the Minneapolis Smith "Gag" Act case, we in Flint hasten to reaffirm comradely solidarity with the 18 victims of this persecution, as well as with the party and principles for which they fought so staunchly. Personal sympathy to the 18 also, for the painful price of silence they must pay; the months they will be held back from the revolutionary struggle which is their life. But they, and all of us, are used to obstacles, and the struggle will go forward.

Surely the 18 and the entire party are proud of this whole case. Their courageous, principled, unflinching stand has awakened and inspired many thousands of workers. We surged ahead against the deluge of reaction and persecution. We can and must not only continue but speed up this forward march, through determination to more than compensate for temporary loss of the 18. All power to and confidence in the substitute leaders, editors, etc., who will take over.

This momentous occasion should stimulate redoubled and more effective effort, wherever revolutionary hearts beat. The continued fight to free the 18 is the fight for all labor's freedom. On this basis we should gain more and more support from labor ranks.

Be sure that we in Flint will intensify party work here. Feel free to call on us for any special tasks within our limited means and qualifications.

Only Trotskyists carry the torch of socialism.
Long live the Socialist Workers Party.
Long live the 18 victims of the Smith "Gag" Act.

Roosevelt Pushes Subsidies To Save Wage-Freeze Policy

(Continued from page 1)

istence remain, **and not only that, the OPA retains the authority not only to maintain these ceilings without a subsidy, but even to rollback the ceilings, not only from the retailer and wholesaler, but all the way up to the producer.** That this is so, that Roosevelt, as well as the OPA, has the legal authority to maintain and roll back ceiling prices without a subsidy, can be seen by the provisions of the Price Control Act, by the terms of which Congress delegated to Roosevelt such authority. This is no news to Congressmen. The top labor fakers know this. And it has been reiterated in the halls of Congress many times.

For instance, Senator Bankhead has said, "No one denies that the OPA has the power to roll back prices wihout the payment of any subsidy. Without the payment of any subsidy they can fix prices. At present, they can order a complete reduction in the prices of these three commodities [meat, butter, coffee] all the way back to the producer and including him." (Congressional Record, Vol. 89. No. 119, pages 6582-83.)

APPEASE FARM BLOC

But why doesn't Roosevelt and his OPA roll back or even maintain existing prices of living necessities without subsidies? Precisely because such procedure would operate to deprive the largest and most powerful agricultural interests of lush war profits and would precipitate a real struggle with them. Roosevelt, however, has been consistently retreating before them, and appeasing them.

Subsidies is a device introduced by Roosevelt, not as a sound and effective economic measure to prevent inflation, but as a device calculated to appease the farm bloc and its Wall Street supporters. **But they refuse to be appeased. Like their brothers, the industrial capitalists, who are raking in enormous profits through cost-plus, fixed-fee-contracts, etc., they demand their "pound of flesh."**

The leaders of the CIO are all doing their utmost to convince the workers that subsidies " — is the only way to check inflation." (Len De Caux, editor of CIO News, Nov. 29). The Stalinists and their periphery follow suit. In reality this is intended to divert the minds of the workers from an independent struggle to break the Little Steel formula and free themselves of the shackles of Roosevelt's wage-freezing policies.

FIGHT WAGE-FREEZE

The leaders of the labor movement are asking the workers to support Roosevelt's subsidy program as a good substitute for smashing the Little Steel formula. Roosevelt actually said the same thing in his message to Congress, wherein he requested a half-billion dollars for the Commodity Credit Corporation, in order to subsidize some food products, and warned Congress not to pass the anti-subsidy amendment, lest the Little Steel formula be broken.

Subsidies are no substitute for wage increases. As a matter of fact, Roosevelt has paid out approximately $800,000,000 in subsidies in the past year. Has that kept down the cost of living, has that eliminated the soaring of food prices, has that abolished the black market? Every worker knows that it has not.

While the capitalists retain their political power, their domination of the economic market, they will squeeze out the last bit of profits that they think they can get away with. Their price motto today is: The sky's the limit.

The task of the trade unions of America is not to fight for Roosevelt's subsidy program, but to wage a determined and relentless struggle against Roosevelt's wage-freezing policies on the basis of independent labor activity.

Millions Of Indians Starving Under British Wartime Rule

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blies and on "hoarding" on the part of the peasants. They don't fool anyone in India with these brazen lies.

BRAZEN LIES

In six of the eleven provinces there are no provincial assemblies, for the British have jailed them in their attempt to crush the independence movement. In addition, none of the provincial assemblies have any real powers. They are merely "advisory" bodies.

Is hoarding by peasants responsible? The peasants, comprising 70% of the population, live under parasitic landlords who while refusing to improve the backward agricultural methods, take away one quarter to one third and more of the crop for taxes, rent, interest, etc. **The peasants themselves have about 5.5 ounces of rice a day per person. Moreover, a large section of the peasant population is made up of landless peasants, share croppers and wage laborers, who get nothing but the pittance doled out to them by the landlords.**

The landlords, in collusion with the British capitalists, have taken the grain raised by the peasants and are selling it at tremendous profits. The Bank of England has invested three million pounds in a company known as the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation. This company buys the grain, and sells it to the government. Overrun with business men, whose interests coincide with those of the Bank of England, the government is willing to pay fancy prices for the grain.

This profitable market has caused the price of rice available in India to rise 100% last year, and 400% more this year.

It is not the peasants who are hoarding. They are among those who are starving.

A DAMNING ADMISSION

Even the British **New Statesman** admits: "What is happening in the remoter towns and the poorer villages is a question our imagination hesitates to explore . . .The chief sufferers seem to be the landless peasants whose ancestral acres have gone to the usurer. Their numbers have been increasing with staggering rapidity during the last twenty years. **They live from hand to mouth. They have no reserves, not even a silver bangle on their women's arms, and where the price of rice rises to four or (in some districts) eight times the normal figure, only one hope is left with them — the municipal cart that will pick up their corpses from the street at dawn."**

Warning signals of the impending famine came in May, 1942, a year and a half ago. The profit-drunk British capitalists, and their Indian-lackey landlords, did nothing to avert it. When the hunger began to be acute at the beginning of 1943, a food conference was called as an empty gesture to convince the starving masses of the "good intentions" of the British. It is hardly necessary to add that the conference adjourned after having accomplished nothing. The British are not interested in really doing anything about the famine. They still enjoy their profits. It was only recently, when the monstrous proportions of the famine were threatening to become an international scandal, only after millions had already died, and millions weakened beyond recovery, that rationing was introduced, and then only in Bengal. A farcical attempt at price control was organized only in Oct. 1943.

BRITISH "RELIEF"

Relief kitchens were organized where one watery gruel meal was served a day. They are not too well patronized. Writes P. G. Joshi, who remains a staunch supporter of Churchill, in the **Daily Worker**, Nov. 13: **"The relief kitchen is. . . not a stepping stone back to the farm, but a halting station on the road to death."**

What has the British government done? Linlithgow has been replaced by Wavell. The parliamentary debate on this "risky subject," as the **N. Y. Times** described it, was very polite, and skirted the main issues. Leopold Amery, the chief of the India Office, mouthed cynical phrases about "finding ways and means," and "somehow or other" improving the condition of the Indian people.

In short, the British government is playing a game of throwing sops in the form of relief kitchens, conferences, and vague promises, while hiding the main cause of the famine, the profiteering in grain, hoping that the whole thing will soon blow over.

STALINIST TRAITORS

The treacherous Stalinists are aiding them in this. They bemoan the tragic results of the famine, but continue to support the British rulers. **They tacitly support the British government's vile accusations that the peasants are responsible for the famine by calling upon them NOT to sell to hoarders. The Stalinists say that this will "save India from the Japanese"!** (Daily Worker, Nov. 20.)

The All-India Congress Party of Gandhi and Nehru, tied up with the native landlords, and in mortal fear of agrarian revolution, also calls for cooperation with the government "program."

The starvation and misery of the Indian masses will be brought to an end only when the British are driven out of India, the land wrested from the landlords, the stocks of hoarded grain and food divided among the starving population, and modern agricultural methods introduced.

Only the Trotskyists, the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, have the program that represents the true interests of the Indian masses. Through the Trotskyist program for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government, India will be freed from both the British oppressors and the native feudal parasites. Then starvation, disease, poverty and exploitation will be remembered only as a terrible chapter of India's barbaric past.

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Labor's Socialist Perspectives And Tasks Of The Revolutionary Struggle In Europe

By E. R. Frank

[Extracts from speech delivered to the New York local of the Socialist Workers Party on the 15th Anniversary plenum of the National Committee.]

The Plenum of the National Committee, meeting at the time of the 15th Anniversary of the American Trotskyist movement, was called to order on the morning of Oct. 31. Practically every member of the National Committee was in attendance when the chairman called the session to order. This excellent representation was no routine achievement. Many of the members of the National Committee, as comrades know, had to travel straight across the country. . . but they all arranged their personal affairs in one manner or another and they were all present on the dot when the Plenum session opened. Because the Plenum of the National Committee is the highest body of this party between conventions and when it issues the call, it is proper and fitting that all the comrades come to attention. And the comrades of the National Committee, trained in the school of Lenin and of Trotsky, understood that and they acted accordingly.

The most important business to come before the Plenum was the adoption of the resolution on the perspectives and the tasks of our movement in the coming European revolution. The Plenum spent two whole days debating this question in the most thoroughgoing, many-sided and at times even heated manner.

Small wonder! The problem of the European revolution is the most important, the most pressing, the most immediate problem of the day. The fate of the European revolution may well settle the fate of all mankind for many years to come. This Plenum of the National Committee met under the impact of the downfall of Mussolini and the collapse of Italian fascism, an event which signalized the beginning of the Italian, and consequently, of the European revolution.

It was only twenty years ago, a short time in history, that the Italian capitalists, panic-stricken before the revolutionary militancy of the proletariat, fearing for their factories and for their very rule, called on Mussolini and his cut-throat fascist gangs to take over the state. Thus began the forward sweep of reaction all over Europe.

Theories of Renegades Refuted

Thus Benito Mussolini set out to rejuvenate bankrupt and decaying capitalism on the broken bones of the Italian workers and peasants. Ten years later the German working class, betrayed and sold out by the social-democrats and the Stalinists, succumbed in the same way to the blows of Hitler and the Nazi murder-gangs. And the lights went out in Germany. And when, a few years later, the Spanish revolution was defeated and Franco and his savage hordes swept over Spain, a loud wail and a howl of despair went up from the ranks of the social-democrats, the reformists, the petty bourgeois radicals, from all those who had grown tired of the struggle and had become disillusioned. They all said that the working class just didn't have what it takes, that the Marxist conception of workers' power was a utopia, a chimera, a pipe-dream. They forgot their own cowardice, they forgot their own treachery, and they loaded full responsibility for the defeats onto the shoulders of the masses. All these miserable politicians — they all deserted the proletariat in the period of adversity. Some rushed into the arms of Anglo-American capitalism and announced that the salvation of mankind depended on the vultures of Wall and Lombard Streets. Others began sporting theories about the historical durability of fascism, the new form of managerial society destined to replace capitalism and to bar the road to socialism for a long time to come.

How events in the last two years alone have annihilated all these contemptible capitulatory theories. All the "independent thinkers," all the renegades, all have been proven to be nothing but mouthpieces, in one form or another, for the monopoly capitalists. Where are all those high sounding pretentious theories today? In the words of the poet: "gone with the snows of yesteryear." You don't hear so much about them any more. Only the ideas of Marxism, only the analysis of Trotsky, has stood the test of world events.

Mussolini was able to dragoon the Italian masses into the war, but he reckoned without his host. He couldn't make the masses fight for the Italian capitalists. They balked and they resisted, and the soldiers on the front deserted and as early as last March, the workers of Turin, of Milan — the workers all over the northern industrial section of Italy — began a series of gigantic strikes. The fascist regime found itself helpless to cope with the revolt. The machine of repression, which had been built up for twenty years, was breaking down. And during the months that followed, strikes and demonstrations continued without let-up. The Italian capitalists were panic-stricken. With their fascist regime bankrupt and falling to pieces, their military power destroyed in the disasters of North Africa and Sicily, facing imminent invasion of the mainland by the Anglo-American armies, the capitalist rulers hastened to dump Mussolini. He had become a millstone around their neck. They threw him to the wolves in the hope that they would thus allay the popular opposition and be able to douse out the fires of revolt.

After the Fall of Mussolini

But the removal of Mussolini had the very opposite effect. As soon as the news spread of his downwfall, the people began to pour into the streets. The capitalist rulers who thought they could rule as before, minus Mussolini, found instead that they had a people's revolution on their hands. The masses surging through the streets, began to hunt out the most obnoxious and hated of the fascist officials. Many of these received summary justice on the spot. The masses proceeded to storm the jails and release the political prisoners. They began to destroy the whole apparatus, root and branch, of the fascist regime, and they addressed themselves to Badoglio and his treacherous makeshift government and demanded an end of the war.

In all of this we see the most powerful demonstration of the deathless vitality, of the irrepressible power of the working class. All the jailings for twenty years, the killings, the castor oil treatments, all the terror that was devised by Italian capitalism, all this could not wipe out the class struggle or prevent it from developing. The working class, which was atomized and crushed after the terrible defeat of 1922 gradually reassembled its ranks. They gradually healed their wounds. They brought forth new leaders out of their ranks and at the very first favorable opportunity they again rose up in all of their majesty and might, and they swept the fascist regime off the face of the earth.

The Italian revolution demonstrated that the working class is still the power in modern society and that all it needs is an adequate program and leadership to guarantee its victory. The Italian revolution demonstrated again that the working class, in alliance with the peasantry, is the only revolutionary force in Europe today. The Italian revolution demonstrated that there exists no intermediate revolution, that no intermediate revolution is possible in Europe, that the only kind of revolution the working class can and will lead is the socialist revolution. The Italian revolution demonstrated that the only alternative to the continued rule of monpoly capitalism and its repressions and wars and hunger, that the only alternative to all of this is the rule of the workers, soldiers and peasant Soviets.

Returning again to the chronology of the Italian events: Terrified by the newly revealed power of the masses, Badoglio decreed martial law and he ordered the troops to shoot down the demonstrating workers. But it was too late. Fraternization had already begun. The discipline of the Italian army was melting away by the hour. In city after city the soldiers refused to fire. Then, in their final desperation, the Italian capitalists, shorn of their principal weapons, knowing the power was slipping out of their hands, turned for help to the imperialists. Both the Nazi and the Anglo-American rulers rushed in to stamp out the fires of the revolution. The Nazis occupied the Northern cities and the Anglo-American capitalists hastened to bomb the revolutionary centers. The Italian workers, isolated and caught between the armies of the two rival war camps, were temporarily driven back.

Plans of Roosevelt-Churchill

The Italian workers needed time, they needed time to test out the different parties and the different programs. They had just come out from the underground after twenty years of fascist bestiality and repression. They needed time to build their own strong revolutionary party. They were not given that time. The Stalinists and the reformist parties, which came to the forefront in the first days, were able to restrain the masses and to disorient the struggle. The Axis and Allied armies were thus able to march in and with impunity begin their hangman's work. But, you say, won't that happen again and again all over Europe? Won't the capitalists be able to strangle the revolution again and again when it breaks out anew? Not necessarily, as I will show later on.

The coming events will not take place in a vacuum. Capitalism, in its catastrophic downward plunge toward the abyss, can offer the masses of Europe only a new serfdom, political reaction, starvation, disease, and self-destructive wars. The Europe of today provides little soil for reformism to take root and flourish. In the coming days in Europe, gradualism will be thought of as a bizarre, as a totally unrealistic philosophy. There will be no new flowering of bourgeois democracy. The economic preconditions and even a good many of the political preconditions for an extended period of bourgeois democracy have disappeared.

Europe, today enslaved, exploited and subjugated by the Nazis, tomorrow is going to be overrun by the armies of Anglo-American capitalism. Roosevelt and Churchill are going to have to take on the job of "pacifying Europe," of crushing the rising revolution. With all his hangmen, with all his firing squads, with his whole murderous machine, Hitler has found it impossible to pacify Europe or to halt the resistance of its people. Now Roosevelt and Churchill propose to jump into this red hot cauldron. They will have even less success. . .

Roosevelt's war for democracy was pretty well compromised from the very start by the alliance with Vargas, the butcher of Brazil, by support of Franco, the butcher of Spain, by the deals with Petain and Darlan. Now the Allied military machine in Italy, propping up the shadow government of Badoglio and of the fascist-loving monarchy, provides us with a blueprint of the Anglo-American aims and program for Europe. Roosevelt and Churchill are embarking on a program of setting up military monarchist and clerical dictatorships under their hegemony all over Europe. Roosevelt and Churchill plan to dismember Europe and to convert its countries into a bunch of colonies. They aim to convert the European peoples into serfs of Anglo-American capitalism.

Role of Democratic Republics

Is it any wonder that they fear like the plague to encourage any popular democratic movements of liberation? No. They understand that it is not in the cards to establish stable democratic governments in Europe today. They know that, given their democratic rights, the European working class would not require overly much time to organize their revolutionary parties and to overthrow all of their capitalist oppressors. That is why Roosevelt and Churchill are absolutely right when they calculate that the choice is either a Franco-type dictatorship or the socialist revolution. There is no alternative. There exists no middle-of-the-road program.

Of course, no one must take this to mean that petty-bourgeois democrats will play no further role in attempts to stem the advance of the proletarian revolution. When the masses rise up in revolt, when naked military force proves powerless to stem the revolutionary advance, then the European capitalists, allied with the imperialist invaders, will push forward their treacherous social-democratic and Stalinist agents. They will make a new effort to strangle the revolution in a democratic noose. In their hour of desperation, the capitalists will use any device and try any trickery, they will try to preserve their rule behind the facade of democratic forms, and if they have to, they will even organize and push to the fore a democratic republic. But such democratic republics, if set up, will be merely by-products of uncompleted revolutionary movements. By their very nature they are going to prove unstable and of very short duration. They will represent not a new equilibrium, but merely a short-lived stage which must end either in the victory of the workers revolution or the definitive victory of the counter-revolution. . .

You will see in Europe in the next period all the burning hatred, all the accumulated rancor, that is now directed at and vented against the Nazi oppressors, you will see it turned with redoubled ferocity against the Yankee capitalists. You are going to see all the aspirations of the European peoples for national freedom which have been trampled underfoot by the Nazi beasts, you will see those national aspirations fused with their social struggles and they will be vented against the native capitalists who betrayed them to Hitler and who are allied today or will be allied tomorrow with the Anglo-American invaders. You are going to see Trotsky's great idea, the Socialist United States of Europe, you are going to see that idea become the rallying cry that is going to unite the European masses against all the despotic schemes and counter-revolutionary designs of the Anglo-American camp. You are going to see the fight waged under that slogan against the attempt to balkanize, exploit and dismember the continent. . .

The revolutionary uprising of the Italian masses is only a foretaste, a harbinger of the revolutionary wave that will sweep the continent, from one end to the other. That is why the parties of the Fourth International in Europe are not going to have to recruit their members and build up their strength and their following on the sole basis of slow, routine work, painfully recruiting their members one by one. No, they won't have to confine their activity in the next period to such modest tasks. Europe is trembling on the verge of great events and the fall of Nazism will rock the continent to its very foundations. And amidst these convulsions that are going to shake European society, from top to bottom, the parties of the Fourth International will rise and live and grow. They will be able to build mass parties and win mass support in relatively short periods of time. This is not just theory or speculation. In Spain, the POUM, a centrist party with a muddle-headed, indecisive leadership, starting from virtually nothing, no big membership, no great prestige in the working class movement, was able to build a mass party, with several big daily newspapers, with a big apparatus, with its own military staff — a party that had the definite opportunity to make the revolution if it had a Bolshevik program and leadership; this party was built up in the course of less than two years in the period of the upsurge of the Spanish revolution. The Trotskyist fighters will be able to accomplish the task of building a mass revolutionary party in as short, or possibly even a shorter period of time. The social-democrats, the reformists, the Stalinists, will of course all be there, working to throttle the revolution, to physically destroy the revolutionary vanguard. But as the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky proved, with a correct program, under a wise leadership, all these agents of dying capitalist society can be exposed and crushed and the Marxist party can win the leadership of the mass struggle. Our co-thinkers in Europe will not lack for opportunities.

No, there is absolutely no ground, however you look at it, however you examine it, there is no ground for pessimism, for scepticism or for lack of faith. Pessimism is unfounded; pessimism is unrealistic. Far more probable than the successful and definitive crushing of the European revolution by the Anglo-American capitalists, will be the revolutionary infection of their troops and the sparks of the European conflagration flying across the continent into England and into the United States. . .

Reason for Red Army Victories

The next great event in the course of this World War, which has affected the whole course of the military struggle and altered the whole relationship of forces, is the amazing and unprecedented victories of the Red Army. And here too, the petty-bourgeois theories of Soviet "imperialism," of the new "acquisitive class" which has taken over in the Soviet Union, here too, the new theories have not stood up very well under the impact of the events. How is anybody going to explain today that amazing unity of Soviet peoples, that unprecedented vitality and morale which exists throughout the Red Army and the peoples of the Soviet Union, except on the theory that the October revolution, though stifled and degraded, still lives. It is an absolutely unprecedented phenomenon, that after the dreadful defeats that the Red Army suffered, after the unheard of devastation of its industries and its farmlands, the Russian people were able to rally their forces, build up, starting from scratch, a new general staff, rebuild their industries and hurl back the most powerful military machine that exists in the world today, and probably in the whole history of warfare. . .

The imperialists are well aware of the fundamental contradiction that exists between the economy of the Soviet Union and of the capitalist world. They never permit themselves to forget it. They dread and fear the Soviet Union because it is the bearer of a new and a higher civilization than their own. They reveal their true feelings by their reaction to every Soviet success, their reaction to every advance of the Red Army. Presumably they are allies. Presumably the struggle is one for all and all for one. Presumably every victory on the Eastern front should fill them with elation because it lightens their own burden in winning the final victory over the common foe. But instead, every victory of the Soviet Union is greeted with dismay and horrible foreboding in Washington and London.

The pact that they recently concluded in Moscow, based on an agreement of Roosevelt and Churchill with Stalin to join forces against the European revolution — and that is what it is in its essence — that pact has not and could not eliminate the fundamental antagonism that exists between the two systems. . . Neither Stalin's subservience to imperialism, nor his counter-revolutionary aims in Europe, can abolish this basic contradiction. The contradiction is there, and at a subsequent stage it must again break into the open, and unless the European revolution intervenes, must eventually lead to armed conflict between the USSR and Anglo-American capitalism.

Stalin understands this very well. His constant changes of front, his treachery, his double-dealing, his maneuvering and tacking, which so perplexes the bourgeois commentators, — that is explained by us, and we are the only ones who have properly explained it — by the contradictory position of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which conducts its reactionary counter-revolutionary policies upon the foundations of a workers state, degenerated though it be. Stalin's contradictory position forces him to try to bargain with the imperialists for all kinds of territorial concessions on the periphery of the Soviet Union. For such tenth-rate concessions, he betrays the international revolution and the international working class. But the inevitable consequences of his betrayals always serve to deal another blow against the Soviet Union.

Our Party Will Ride the Storm

It was demonstrated in his deal with Hitler. As soon as Hitler freed himself in the West, he hurled his awesome might against the Soviet Union. Stalin's new allies will not and cannot act otherwise. If they are established in a dominating position on the European continent, freed of other military struggles, of necessity they must seek to surround and strangle the USSR in order to restore capitalist private property and to open up that one-sixth of the world for capitalist exploitation. Stalin knows this. That is why he tried to find a middle course. On one hand, he sets up "Free German" and "Free Poland" committees. He lends support to the Yugoslav Partisans. He plays around with the idea of reconstituting pseudo-democratic regimes in Germany and elsewhere, all for the purpose of strengthening his hand against the capitalists. On the other hand, he makes deals with the Anglo-American capitalists to cooperate with them in crushing the European revolution and subjugating its peoples.

Stalin's attempts to find a middle course are doomed to failure. Either the socialist revolution is going to conquer in Europe or the continent is going to become the vassal of Anglo-American capitalism. Either the Soviet Union will secure itself by an alliance with a successful Socialist revolution, or eventually it is going to be destroyed and conquered by the capitalists. There are no other alternatives. . .

We look back today on the last fifteen years of the Trotskyist movement, fifteen years of work, of struggle, of slow, painful growth. And today, as Europe trembles on the verge of great events, we are still not a mass party, nor has the Fourth International yet a mass following. Still we are today more optimistic than ever before. Not because we are professional optimists, but because the facts do not justify any other conclusions.

The reserves of capitalism are melting away before our very eyes. The peoples of the world hunger for a change and they can't, they won't find any other way out but the way of the socialist revolution. Out of the agony of the battlefields, out of the devastation and the ruins is being shaped the revolutionary anger and determination of the peoples which will erupt in a revolutionary storm. When that awful avenging storm breaks, as break it must, as break it will, it is going to sweep all the old rubbish out of its path. It is going to drive the tyrants and the exploiters before it, like leaves driven before an oncoming gale. The Trotskyist party of the socialist revolution will take its rightful place at the head of the people and will ride that storm. Our party has earned that right. Our cadres have grown hard and firm in adversary. Our cadres stood like a stone wall and never wavered in the times, described by Tom Paine, as the "times that try mens' souls." Our party, which like a steel spring, has been compressed for so long by its inner force, will, when released, shatter every obstacle in its path by its furious rebound. And the name of Trotsky, which so many times in his lifetime had evoked fear and consternation in the camp of the capitalists, will again strike terror into their hearts, because it is with Trotsky's program that the masses are going to storm the citadel and it is under his banner that they will win the final victory.

Factors Impelling Stalin And Allies To Agreement

By M. Morrison

What factors impel Stalin and the leaders of the capitalist democracies to arrive at some understanding? I am referring not only to the recent Moscow pact but to agreements which may be arrived at in the future.

First and foremost is the fear, common to the Stalinist bureaucracy and the capitalists, of the coming European revolution. A united front against the masses of Europe instills them with greater confidence in their ability to deal with the upheavals that are well-nigh inevitable after the complete defeat of Hitler.

Are we to conclude that the signers of the Moscow pact openly discussed the European revolution and expressly agreed to strangle it? One of the objectives of the pact is "to maintain international peace and security." This can be taken to mean not only as referring to wars between nations but also to suppress revolutionary uprisings of the masses. A more significant objective mentioned in the pact is "to establish law and order," a phrase almost always used by reactionaries when they speak of suppressing any revolt of the masses. It may well be the case that the question of the European revolution was actually discussed by Molotov, Eden and Hull. We need not, however, concern ourselves with that relatively minor question. What is important to understand is that the fundamental factor driving Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill to arrive at an agreement is the fear of a European revolution.

Without Stalin it would be terribly difficult, if not impossible, for the capitalists to suppress a revolution in Europe. To the capitalists of the United States and Great Britain, Stalin is a sort of labor leader on a grand scale, upon whom they must rely to keep the masses from taking to the path of revolution. They well realize that neither Churchill nor Roosevelt has any prestige among the European masses and that Stalin, by virtue of his position as head of the Soviet Union and because of the victories of the Red Army, has such influence among the masses that it may be possible, with his aid, to prevent an uprising.

Stalin, on his part, would prefer to prevent a revolution rather than to suppress it. His prestige with the European masses depends upon his ability to avoid the use of force against them. The American capitalists can help him in this respect by furnishing food to the hungry people of Europe. If the capitalists need Stalin's prestige to prevent or suppress a revolution, Stalin needs the food which the capitalist countries can furnish to help him in keeping the masses under his control.

One important difference must be kept in mind in considering the relationship of Stalin and that of the capitalists to a European revolution. Under any and all circumstances the revolting masses of Europe will have to contend with the armed forces of the latter. In the case of Stalin there is a great likelihood that he will attempt to control the revolution should its sweep become too powerful to be suppressed by force. His prestige and his control of a powerful apparatus will undoubtedly be used in an attempt first to prevent or suppress a revolution, and if that fails to take the leadership of the revolution and turn it into bureaucratic channels.

* * *

On the part of the leaders of the capitalist democracies the fear of a "revolution a la Stalin" is a factor of considerable importance in their desire to reach an agreement with the Kremlin dictator. The expropriation of the capitalists in the territory seized by Stalin, in accordance with the Hitler-Stalin pact, confirms the fear of the capitalists that Stalin's rule means an end to capitalism. **And to them expropriation is just as painful when consummated by a bureaucratic caste as when it is accomplished by a revolutionary workers' government.**

Not being certain of Stalin's territorial ambitions, the capitalist leaders acquire some degree of confidence when Stalin's representative signs an agreement formally pledging not to employ the Red Army, after peace is declared, in territories of other states without previous consultation.

Roosevelt and Churchill, especially the latter, have probably reconciled themselves to giving Stalin the Baltic countries and even eastern Poland. The probability is that this question has not yet been formally settled and that the United States is waiting to see what the situation will be, after Germany surrenders, before making a final decision on Stalin's territorial demands. What attitude the capitalist leaders take will not depend upon any agreement, if one has been reached, but upon far more realistic considerations, such as the strength of the Red Army, the development of the European revolution and the attitude of the American and English masses.

* * *

It must also be noted that to go to war against the Soviet Union after the present conflict is over entails too great a risk. Under any circumstances a war following immediately upon the defeat of Germany and Japan would be too risky. The capitalist leaders understand just as well as we do, that the masses can endure so much and no more and they will therefore do their best to avoid taking such a risk. A war against the Soviet Union would be especially risky because the European masses will side with the Soviet Union and the British workers would undoubtedly oppose such a war.

Recognizing the existence of a fundamental antagonism between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union does not mean to rule out a period of peace between them, of longer or shorter duration. Especially is this true with the Soviet Union under the control of Stalin. Because the antagonism of the capitalist world to the Soviet Union is considerably diminished by Stalin's political line.

A large section of the leading capitalists of this country and of England are banking on the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union through Stalin's efforts. The dissolution of the Stalinist International, the restoration of the Patriarchate of the Greek Orthodox Church, the revival of Russian national ideology are hopeful signs to quite a few influential capitalist leaders. When a reactionary like Captain Rickenbacker announces that the Soviet Union is developing in the direction of democracy while the United States is progressing in the other direction, we must attribute the statement, no matter how stupid it is, to a hope that, under Stalin, capitalism might yet be restored. This hope is greatly nourished by the fact that the destruction caused by Hitler's invasion will compel Stalin to appeal for economic aid to the capitalist countries and grant further political concessions in return for such aid.

For Stalin the necessity of economic aid from the capitalist countries to restore the damaged economy of the Soviet Union is a powerful incentive to arrive at an agreement with the United States and England. It would appear, upon an analysis of all the factors that the leaders of the powerful capitalist nations and Stalin will make a serious effort to arrive at some agreement.

* * *

Naturally no revolutionary Marxist can be against an agreement between the Soviet Union and capitalist nations. But we are confronted here with an agreement between Stalin and the capitalists based on the fear of and the desire to strangle the coming European revolution. It is this aspect of the agreement that must be emphasized over and over again. No agreement can solve the problems of the European masses. The terrible conditions under which they live will impel them to a revolutionary solution. **The European revolution will upset all agreements made by Stalin with the capitalists and, if successful, will assure the safety of the Soviet Union against any capitalist attack and against the Stalinist bureaucracy.**

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
5. **A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

The Patton Case

It has been officially admitted that Lt. General George S. Patton, Jr., three months ago struck and insulted a shell-shocked American soldier in an evacuation hospital in Sicily. The official statement was released only after Drew Pearson, columnist and radio commentator, had reported Patton's outrageous conduct in a Nov. 21 broadcast. Even when the news of the assault was out in the open, the military authorities issued a lying statement in an effort to cover up for Patton and defend the army brass-hat system which makes possible these vicious outrages against the rank and file soldiers.

The Roosevelt administration not only suppressed the news of the assault on a wounded soldier and permitted Patton to retain his command — after the attack Roosevelt sent Patton's name to Congress in nomination for a promotion in permanent rank.

The first accounts named Private Charles H. Kuhl of Indiana as the injured soldier assaulted by Patton. Kuhl had written to his parents in Indiana that he was slapped and kicked by the bullying general. The War Department later announced that it was not Kuhl but a soldier from Carolina who had been the victim of the officially reported attack. This confusion as to which soldier is involved in the official report makes it clear that Patton has been making a practice of cuffing and kicking soldiers and generally subjecting them to indignities and insults. And there have been numerous past examples to show that other officers besides Patton have subjected the soldiers to similar brutalities.

Congressmen are receiving a flood of telegrams and letters from parents protesting against the officers' harsh treatment of their sons in the armed forces. Demands have been raised that Patton be court-martialed. He has certainly demonstrated his unfitness to hold a command, and he should be removed forthwith. But a regulation court-martial of Patton is not enough to protect the rank and file soldiers from continued abuses by the officers. The soldiers must have their own democratic instruments to safeguard their rights.

Several weeks ago a Ford foreman struck a worker on the production line in the plant. The union committee immediately came to the worker's defense and the abuse was effectively stopped. Just as the workers in the factories need their committees to protect their rights and interests, so must the soldiers have the right to elect soldiers' committees to defend their democratic rights and protect them from abuse and indignities at the hands of officers like Patton.

ALP Faction Fight

The unprincipled clique fight waged by the Stalinists and the Dubinsky-Social-Democratic factions for control has again thrust the American Labor Party into a first-class crisis. Both factions have a similar program. Both factions have vied with each other in an attempt to convert the ALP into the fifth wheel of Roosevelt's Democratic party. But the Stalinists are definitely coming out ahead in the clique fight.

The current elections in New York demonstrated the strength of the Stalinists both inside and outside the ALP. The Stalinist faction won control of the New York ALP organization. Moreover, the Communist Party elected more candidates to the New York City Council than the ALP itself.

The opposing Dubinsky - Social - Democratic clique, which still retains control of the ALP State Committee, fears that the Stalinist faction is now in a position to wrest complete control of the ALP organization. The coming meeting of the State Committee will have to act on the "unity" proposal submitted by Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and Chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee. Hillman proposes in essence that all CIO unions including the Stalinist-led unions, be admitted into the ALP. Control of the party is to be vested in the trade unions on the basis of per capita tax payments. The political meaning of this proposal: a thinly-veiled ultimatum to the Dubinsky-Social-Democratic faction to relinquish control of the ALP to Hillman in alliance with the Stalinists. Hillman, whose present program is the same as that of the Stalinists, wants to seize control of the ALP in order to convert it into a pawn of the "Roosevelt-for-a-fourth-term" CIO Political Action Committee, and then to jettison the party after the 1944 elections.

The whole wretched squabble over control of the ALP reveals very clearly the character of the labor bureaucrats. They are all reactionary through and through. The Dubinsky-Social-Democratic faction knows no other policy but to convert labor's own party into a tail of Roosevelt's political kite. The Stalinist finks and the Hillman-CIO bureaucrats are maneuvering for position in order to blow up labor's political party from within, in favor of Roosevelt's Democratic Party.

The political crisis continues to mount in Britain, as a result of the government's action in releasing Oswald Mosley, British Fascist No. 1. Lord Strabolgi, Labor Party "whip" in the House of Lords, declared: "In my long political life I have never known such a spontaneous and sincere uprising of public opinion."

Allied 'Relief'

Much about the UNRRA set-up remains cloaked in diplomatic obscurity, but its main features are already clear. Under the imposing facade of a council representing 44 nations, theoretically, the governing body, the actual power lies in the hands of the two major capitalist powers, Britain and the United States and to a certain extent, the Soviet Union. The hegemony of the Big Powers is assured, not only by the pressure they can bring to bear upon the smaller countries, but by the very structure of the UNRRA itself.

The Committee on Europe, one of the most important committees of the set-up is completely dominated by the Big Three. The general council of the UNRRA will have only semi-annual meetings; the actual decisions on policy will be made by the central committee, on which will sit only the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and as window dressing, China. In addition, the Allied Combined Boards, of which the United States and Britain are the only members, continue to exercise complete war-time control over 95% of the strategic supplies of the non-Axis world. And, of course, the decisive leadership will rest with the United States. The hegemony of Wall Street is guaranteed by the appointment of Herbert Lehman, one of America's leading bankers, as Director General.

What is the purpose of the whole complicated UNRRA organization? Why cannot Britain and the U. S., as the world's two great supplying powers, run the relief set-up formally, as they are running it in practice, without all the fol-de-rol of a 44-Nations Council? Because the program of Anglo-American capitalism needs a cover. It cannot stand the light of day.

Relief is going to be administered, not on the basis of need (Look at India!) or humanitarian consideration, but as one of the important weapons to achieve the program of Roosevelt and Churchill of crushing the revolutionary uprisings in Europe, to dismember and balkanize the continent, to subjugate its peoples and to foist on them reactionary military dictatorships.

Every one remembers how at the end of the First World War, England and France found it more convenient and "politic" to impose the predatory provisions of the Versailles Treaty, under cover of the decisions of the "humanitarian," "idealistic" League of Nations. Similarly Roosevelt and Churchill, in alliance with Stalin, find it more "politic" to embark on their reactionary "relief" program, under the cover of the "humanitarian" 44-nations UNRRA.

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. *Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.*

Stalinists in Local 65

Editor:

Conditions in Local 65, CIO Wholesale and Warehouse Workers Union, are about as bad as can be expected in a union controlled from top to bottom by the Stalinist sell-out artists. The leadership has unhesitatingly sacrificed every interest of the workers whenever these interests came into the slightest conflict with Roosevelt's war program.

Dave Livingston, vice-president of the Local and general handler of all the dirty work when it comes to squelching the workers militancy, recently proclaimed that less than two percent of the contracts submitted to the WLB had been rejected, this supposedly proving that wages are NOT (Livingston's emphasis) frozen. Far from proving that wages aren't frozen, this statement shows that Livingston & Co. have not even attempted to submit any contracts to the Board which would violate the Little Steel formula.

The warehouse workers are stirring restlessly under the pressure of frozen wages and soaring prices, but the only kind of "action" they are allowed to take is to mail another postcard to Congress. Every manifestation of militant action is stifled as soon as it is spotted, since there is not the remnant of an opposition leadership within the Local.

In one shop a contract negotiated for Jan. 1943 has been arbitrated after nine months, the arbitration rejected by the boss, and the dispute now is in the hands of the U. S. Conciliation Service. If they approve the increase, the case will then go to the WLB. You can well imagine what the sentiments of the workers in this shop are!

At a shop meeting militant workers proposed that as a protest against the company, all overtime be cut out during the Christmas rush. However, this measure was opposed by the Stalinists who denounced it as a strike "holding up vital production" (it is an entirely non-war industry.)

D. J.
New York City

France's Record Of Colonial Exploitation In Middle East

By MARK BRADEN

Far from being an accidental or isolated incident, the heroic independence struggle of the Lebanese is a determined reaction to the brutalities of 23 years of French imperialist rule. Lebanon and Syria, with a civilization that extends back to antiquity, were part of the Turkish Empire before the First World War. From 1912, Great Britain and France agreed upon the division of the spoils of the Turkish colonial territories. This agreement was formalized in the Sykes-Picot secret treaty of 1916. This secret pact, made without the knowledge of the countries involved, provided that Britain would get Palestine and Arabia, and France, Lebanon and Syria.

This did not prevent the French and British rulers from hypocritically promising in 1918, and again in 1920, that their military occupation would in no way affect the national welfare of these countries. But these words were only a cloak to conceal their imperialist designs. **In the fall of 1920, French troops, installed on the coast of Syria after the withdrawal of the British, presented an ultimatum to the government of Lebanon, demanding the demobilization of its army, and, in effect, full surrender of its sovereignty. This humiliating ultimatum was met, but that did not prevent the French from attacking anyway, and establishing a military regime throughout Lebanon and Syria. Thus the "war for democracy" brought to the Syrians and Lebanese only the exchange of the slavemasters' whip from the hands of the Turks to the hands of the French.**

SECRET TREATIES

"The main characteristic of French colonization has always been conquest by military expeditions," wrote Professor E. D. Adams in 1899. France intended to use these methods in Syria and Lebanon, but the glorious Russian Revolution upset their scheme. The October Revolution in Russia had a profound effect all through the Near East in stimulating and deepening the struggle of the oppressed colonial peoples against imperialism.

In addition, one of the first acts of Trotsky, as Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, was to publish all the secret treaties found in the Czar's archives. The exposure by the Bolsheviks of the secret plans of France and Britain to carve up the Near East further intensified the resistance of the colonial peoples. The French and British deemed it advisable to screen their military dictatorships with pacifistic and humanitarian formulas. That is how they devised the mandate system of the League of Nations. France did not steal Lebanon and Syria outright. These countries were merely placed under her "protection" for the purpose of "administrative advice and assistance until they are able to stand alone" (Covenant of the League of Nations).

Putting a silk glove on the mailed fist fooled nobody, least of all the Syrians and Lebanese. One leader of the nationalist Syrian Independence Party summarized the role of the League of Nations as "simply an institution whose aim is to provide a cloak of legality for the greedy encroachments of France and England."

DIVIDE AND RULE

"Under the cloak of legality," the French consolidated their regime. They installed a High Commissioner vested with all civil and military power. They employed the old Roman formula of "divide and rule" by dividing Syria and Lebanon into five separate countries. In many respects, their rule was even worse than the Turkish: corruption and graft abounded. One example, cited by Arslan, is that of the Bridge of Demour, built by the Turks for 8,000 pounds, it was rebuilt by the French, when destroyed by a storm, for 45,000 pounds.

The strictest censorship was installed; a secret fund of 16 million francs was used for bribery and to purchase political influence; puppet parliaments without the power to make decisions were created. But all these methods of French imperialism could not prevent the Syrians and Lebanese from struggling for independence.

In 1922, big demonstrations occurred in Damascus. Again in 1925, the Druse tribes rebelled and fought heroically for over a year against French troops. Every outbreak of popular resistance was ruthlessly suppressed. When the first Lebanese Chamber of Deputies decided to send a Commission abroad to arouse sentiment for independence, they were arrested, tried for "treason to the fatherland" and deported.

BANKERS MOVE IN

The French capitalists and bankers moved in. A bank was established with a capitalization of 10 million francs, and immediately proceeded to issue 200 million francs of paper currency to control local business. France restricted the exports of Lebanon and Syria and at the same time began steadily to increase imports from France. Lebanon's gold supply began to move in the direction of Paris. These economic measures, far from "assisting" Lebanon and Syria in any way, were deliberate attempts of France to control and exploit the country economically.

These economic methods were coupled with continued political oppression. Every time the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies voted independence, it was dissolved; this occurred in 1928, the Chamber was reconvened in 1931, only again to vote independence and be dissolved again.

The record of French imperialism makes it clear why less than 900,000 Lebanese dare to challenge the military strength of the imperialists in another bid for emancipation. Genuine national liberation can come, not through the "assistance" of the British who seek to impose on the Lebanese a fake "independence" such as they granted Egypt. **Real independence can come only as a part of the struggle to free the Near East from all imperialist rule.**

International Notes

The mid-October supplement to the British Socialist Appeal states that the leaders of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the Trotskyist party of Ceylon, have been arrested in India after having escaped from a British jail in Ceylon. The British report states that they are being tried for high treason.

Four leaders of the LSSP escaped from a Ceylon jail in March 1942. They are N. M. Pereira, D. P. R. Gunawardene, Colin de Silva and Edmund Samarakkody. The Trotskyist leaders had succeeded in winning over to the party one of the subwardens, a native Sinhalese. Over a period of time the subwarden smuggled in appropriate clothing for the four prisoners and secured the necessary duplicate keys. Then at an opportune moment the Trotskyist leaders, dressed as visiting dignitaries, were ceremoniously ushered out of the jail by the sub-warden who fled with them. The British authorities were especially indignant over the prisoners' action in throwing the key back over the wall after they had reached the outside.

An April 9, 1942 dispatch to the **London Times** reported that a fifth Ceylon Trotskyist leader, Lesie Gunawardene, had been evading arrest since 1940. **There has been no further report about him, and it is not known if he was among the Ceylon Trotskyists just arrested in India.**

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party was organized in Dec. 1935 by a group of 50 workers and students. It enjoyed phenomenal growth and soon won unquestioned leadership of the nearly 7,000,000 workers and peasants of Ceylon. Unions of railway workers, general laborers, and plantation workers were organized by the party. Work was carried on among the small peasants. Combining electoral activity with its mass work, the LSSP won the election of N. M. Pereira and D. P. R. Gunawardene to the Ceylon State Council in its first election campaign. **In 1941 the LSSP declared for affiliation to the Fourth International.**

Formal suppression of the LSSP was decreed on March 13, 1942 by British Governor-General Sir Andrew Caldecott of Ceylon. But Caldecott's action was largely a formality as the party had in effect been outlawed since the war began. In Sept. 1939, Pereira and Gunawardene were arrested in violation of their parliamentary immunity. De Silva and Samarakkody were arrested at the same time. All were held without charges and denied trial. The party's printing presses were seized and its publications confiscated. A terror campaign was opened against the party by the armed Rifle Corps of the Ceylon Planters Association. Despite this combined assault by the British authorities and the vigilante gangs of the planters, the LSSP heriocally carried on its work.

A conference was held in March 1941 between the LSSP, the Revolutionary Socialist League of Bengal, and the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of the United Provinces and Behar. At this conference a Trotskyist program for India was outlined and later submitted in draft form for discussion in the various groups. During this period a Provisional Committee, elected at a Nov. 1941 conference, began to function as the leadership of the whole movement. **A final draft of the program was adopted in May 1942, and an all-India party formally launched.** (See March, April and Oct. 1942 issues of **Fourth International**, pages 82, 117 and 309.)

The LSSP is now the Ceylon section of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India. Its official organ, the **Samasamajist**, is published in three languages: a weekly edition in *Sinhalese* for the natives of Ceylon; a second weekly edition in *Tamil* for the South India workers imported for labor on the Ceylon tea plantations; and an English language edition published fortnightly.

Negroes in Brooklyn Are Victims of Reactionaries

By David Ransom

Violence against Negroes is an old, old story in this country. It is as much a part of the system of Jim Crow as the poll tax. And as every Negro knows, the war has brought a tremendous increase in the number of individual and mob assaults in every part of the country. These attacks have one purpose in mind — to frighten Negroes into accepting an "inferior" status and foregoing a militant struggle against Jim Crow.

In every instance the anti-Negro elements take advantage of the aggravated social conditions brought on by the war. In Beaumont, Texas, in Los Angeles, and in Detroit, the reactionaries turned the discontent of the war-impoverished lower middle-class and the more backward workers against the Negroes. Here is a direct consequence of Wall Street's war. It has strengthened the hand of reactionaries against the Negro people.

And now we see the beginning of the same pattern in New York City. Behind the Kings County Grand Jury charge of a "crime wave" in Brooklyn's "Little Harlem" can be discovered the Detroit formula: To whip up racial hostility with a false picture of lawlessness; to justify violence against Negroes in the name of "law and order."

The capitalist press was quick to seize on the Grand Jury's report as an excuse for indulging in a smear campaign without caring to discover whether the charges were true or false. The **N. Y. Times** backed up the Grand Jury's demand for police brutality by picturing police as "sullen because they could not cut down hoodlumism with force." The N. Y. Post, a supposedly liberal paper, picked up the accusation of wide-spread juvenile delinquency and ran a headline that screamed, "Almost Every Child in Bedford-Stuyvesant Area Carries Knife." The rest of the metropolitan press followed suit. In New York, as in Detroit and Los Angeles, the capitalist papers showed themselves eager to stir up the most reactionary prejudices.

Not only the press but the very officials and agencies supposed to uphold "law and order" — the courts and judges — take part in the attack on the Negroes of "Little Harlem." How Negroes are regarded by the agencies of "law and order" is shown in the statement of Judge James Garrot Wallace last month. **While sentencing a Negro youth to ten years in jail for allegedly robbing and beating a white woman, Wallace said, "In some parts of this country, you would have been hung from a lamp-post with several bullets in you for attacking a woman like that."** This talk, worthy of a Southern bourbon, came from an official who pretends to deal out equal justice to all.

Nor should it be forgotten that the Grand Jury which made the report is itself part of the official apparatus of "law and order." Not one Negro served on this jury and only one Negro was called to testify before it.

It has been pointed out that immediate inspiration for this attack on the Negroes came from certain real estate operators who stand to profit doubly if they can drive the Negroes into one corner of the Bedford-Stuyvesant area. Led by a scoundrel named Sumner Sirtl, these real estate sharks want to convert "Little Harlem" into a residential district for the wealthy and extort even higher rents from the more closely segregated Negroes.

The first duty of the New York labor movement is to expose Sirtl and the Midtown Civic League, as well as providing Negroes with defense from any possible assaults. But neither Negroes nor the labor movement should rest content with smoking out Sirtl and his reactionary crew. **For Sirtl and other advocates of violence against Negroes could not take one step without the support that flows from the existing system of Jim Crow.**

Behind Sirtl and his anti-Negro schemes stands the government, the capitalist class, and all the agencies of propaganda and education. The government fosters Jim Crow in the armed forces and allows the capitalists to practice discrimination in industry and housing. The press, faithful to its capitalist masters, delights in picturing the Negro as a child-like "zoot-suiter" or a criminal, as the occasion demands.

Yes, Negroes aided by the unions must repel the violence of Sirtl and his kind. But violence is only one way, the most brutal way, of upholding Jim Crow. Poor housing, inadequate educational and health facilities, and job discrimination are also part of the scheme of "keeping the Negro in his place." Negroes must also fight those who condemn them to a poverty stricken life in segregated slum areas.

That is why the Stalinists are committing a major crime against the Negro people in trying to pose La Guardia as a "friend" of the Negro people. For the La Guardia administration, together with the landlords, bears complete responsibility for the miserable conditions that prevail in Brooklyn's "Little Harlem."

For years the Negro press has called attention to the lack of adequate housing, schools, playgrounds, and health centers in "Little Harlem." Nor is it a secret to La Guardia that the rate of infant mortality, tuberculosis and pneumonia is higher in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area than in any other part of Brooklyn. Yet the fact remains that instead of bettering bad conditions in this area, La Guardia made them worse by cutting already meagre allotments in his "war budgets" of the last few years. Like every other capitalist politician, big or small, La Guardia is always ready to cut "costs" at the expense of the population, especially the Negroes. The capitalists, through their political lackeys are making doubly sure it is the masses who pay the cost of the war. The Stalinists, who know all this, support La Guardia, because they too are interested in "winning the war first."

And how does La Guardia propose to "remedy" conditions now? The **Daily Worker** of Nov. 22 quotes La Guardia as saying the city will proceed with improvements "when materials can be released from war purposes." Again the war is used as an excuse for postponing giving the Negro people their rights.

Should the Negroes accept this line of reasoning and subordinate their struggle to Wall Street's war they will come out of this war as they went in — an oppressed minority. For if you extend this kind of reasoning all the way down the line it means the continued existence of the whole rotten system of Jim Crow.